

## Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 USUN N 03003 01 OF 02 250247Z  
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W  
-----043382 250251Z /61  
O 250236Z JUL 78 ZFF-4  
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACI IMMEDIATE 2650  
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA NIACI IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 USUN NEW YORK 03003

EXDIS

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM MCHENRY

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PORG, UNSC, SF, WA  
SUBJECT: NAMIBIA: SUGGESTED TALKING POINTS FOR THE  
SECRETARY'S USE WITH FOREIGN MINISTER BOTHA

1. WE ARE DEALING WITH VORSTER'S STRONG PERSONAL VIEWS  
IN THIS PROBLEM, SO THERE MAY BE A LIMIT TO THE EF-  
FECTIVENESS OF TALKING WITH PIK BOTHA. NONETHELESS, I  
STRONGLY URGE YOU TO MAKE THE EFFORT AND SUGGEST THE  
FOLLOWING APPROACH:

-- IT IS IMPORTANT AT THIS LAST STAGE OF OUR  
LONG EFFORT TO WORK OUT MUTUALLY TOLERABLE TERMS FOR THE  
INDEPENDENCE OF NAMIBIA THAT WE ALL FACE SQUARELY AND  
CLEARLY THE REALITIES OF THE POLITICAL SITUATION AS  
THEY CONFRONT US. FROM OUR FIRST SESSION, WE INFORMED  
YOU THAT THE QUESTION OF WALVIS BAY WOULD BE CONTROVERSIAL.  
WE ACKNOWLEDGE THAT YOU HAVE CONSISTENTLY STATED YOUR  
POSITION, BUT THAT HAS NOT LESSENED THE PRACTI-  
CAL POLITICAL PROBLEMS WITH WHICH WE MUST DEAL.

-- WE HAVE MAINTAINED AGAINST ALL PRESSURES  
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THAT WALVIS BAY CANNOT BE SETTLED IN THE COURSE OF OUR  
PRESENT NEGOTIATIONS. AS YOU KNOW, WE HAVE REFUSED TO  
PERMIT WALVIS BAY TO BE INVOLVED IN OUR PROPOSAL.

-- THE PRESENT TEXT, WHICH WE HAVE  
FINALLY AGREED AFTER LONG AND INTENSIVE NEGOTIATIONS,  
DOES NOT ADDRESS ITSELF TO THE LEGAL QUESTION AND IN

NO WAY PREJUDICES THE SOUTH AFRICAN LEGAL POSITION.  
WE HAVE CONTEMPLATED ONLY THAT WALVIS BAY MUST BE TACKLED  
THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN SOUTH AFRICA AND THE ELECTED  
GOVERNMENT OF NAMIBIA. IN OTHER WORDS, NOT EVEN DIS-  
CUSSIONS OF WALVIS BAY CAN TAKE PLACE UNTIL AFTER OUR  
PROPOSAL IS IMPLEMENTED.

-- THERE IS NOTHING COERCIVE IN THE RESOLUTION. SINCE THERE IS NOTHING MANDATORY, SOUTH AFRICA WILL RETAIN EFFECTIVE CONTROL OF WALVIS BAY UNTIL YOU NEGOTIATE A CHANGE. THE TEXT DEALS WITH WALVIS BAY ONLY IN THE FUTURE TENSE, WITH NO TIMETABLE FOR SETTLEMENT REQUIRED. THESE PRINCIPLES STILL DESCRIBE THE POSITION OF THE FIVE.

-- WHILE NONE OF US ARE WILLING TO TAKE STANDS ON THE LEGAL POSITIONS OF THE PARTIES WITH RESPECT TO WALVIS BAY, HOWEVER, WE HAVE LONG SINCE CONCLUDED THAT WE CANNOT AVOID EXPRESSING OUR HONEST POLITICAL VIEW THAT WALVIS BAY MUST BE REINTEGRATED WITH NAMIBIA IF INDEPENDENT NAMIBIA IS TO MAKE POLITICAL, GEOGRAPHIC, NATIONAL SENSE.

-- IN THE LAST ANALYSIS, THE PROBLEM COMES DOWN TO THE POLITICAL QUESTIONS OF WHAT IS NECESSARY TO GET AN AGREEMENT ON THE NAMIBIA QUESTION THAT WILL

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BE INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE AND REMOVE FROM SOUTH AFRICA ONCE AND FOR ALL THE BURDEN OF WORLD CONDEMNATION.

-- WE ARE FULLY AWARE THAT THE LANGUAGE OF THE PROPOSED RESOLUTION ON WALVIS BAY GOES VERY FAR TOWARD THE LIMIT OF WHAT YOU CAN TOLERATE. YET, IT FALLS FAR SHORT OF PROPOSALS REJECTED BY US, PROPOSALS THAT EVEN NOW ARE BEING PUSHED ON US AS A RESULT OF THE KHARTOUM SUMMIT MEETING. (NOTE: WE HAVE PASSED THESE TEXTS TO THE SOUTH AFRICANS THROUGH THEIR UN CHARGE.) WE SHALL CONTINUE TO OPPOSE THESE PROPOSALS.

-- WE BELIEVE WE HAVE BEEN FAITHFUL TO THE ESSENTIAL PRINCIPLES WHICH WE HAVE ON A NUMBER OF OCCASIONS EXPLAINED TO YOU IN RECENT MONTHS. THE RESOLUTION IS CAREFULLY BALANCED WITH THOSE PRINCIPLES IN MIND, AS WELL AS THE PRACTICAL POLITICAL PROBLEM OF REQUIREMENTS FOR AFRICAN AGREEMENT TO A SETTLEMENT.

-- WE WOULD URGE YOU NOT TO ATTRIBUTE A SPECIFICITY TO OUR POSITION WHICH WE OUTSELVES DO NOT.

-- WE HAVE TOLD YOU THAT ALL OF THE FIVE,  
COLLECTIVELY AND SINGLY, ARE AGREED THAT WE WILL MAKE  
OUR INTERPRETATION OF THE RESOLUTION LANGUAGE UNMIS-  
TAKABLY CLEAR IN ACCORDANCE WITH OUR PRINCIPLED  
STAND. WE INTEND TO MAKE SUCH STATEMENTS IN THE COUNCIL  
AT THE TIME OF ACTION ON THE RESOLUTION.

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-----043345 250252Z /61  
O 250236Z JUL 78 ZFF-4  
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 2651  
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA NIACT IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTION 02 OF 02 USUN NEW YORK 03003

EXDIS

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM MCHENRY

-- YOU YOURSELF HAVE ASSURED US THAT SOUTH  
AFRICA AGREES TO THE NECESSITY OF DISCUSSIONS ON ALL  
ASPECTS OF WALVIS BAY. THAT IS ALL WE ARE ASKING--ALL,  
IN FACT, THAT IS REQUIRED BY THE PROPOSED RESOLUTION  
LANGUAGE.

-- MOST IMPORTANT, THE SITUATION IN NEW YORK  
IS FLUID AND WILL REMAIN SO FOR SEVERAL DAYS. IT IS  
IMPORTANT THAT SOUTH AFRICA NOT DO ANYTHING TO MAKE  
OUR PROBLEMS HERE MORE DIFFICULT, OR TO ROB IT OF  
FLEXIBILITY.

-- I HOPE THAT YOU WILL FIND IT POSSIBLE  
TO ACCEPT TH- REALITIES, AND THE LARGER GAINS FOR  
SOUTH AFRICA, AND WILL ALLOW THE SETTLEMENT ON NAMIBIA  
TO GO FORWARD UNHINDERED. END TALKING POINTS.

3. I HAVE INFORMED EKSTEEN, SOUTH AFRICAN CHARGE IN  
NEW YORK, OF YOUR PLAN TO CALL BOTHA AT 9:30 A.M.,

JULY 25. BECAUSE OF THE TIME DIFFERENCE, I THINK IT  
WOULD BE WELL TO PLACE THE CALL EVEN EARLIER IF POSSIBLE.  
I WILL BE IN MY OFFICE FROM 7:00 A.M., JULY 25,  
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IN CASE YOU WISH TO DISCUSS THESE POINTS OR OTHERS  
THAT MAY OCCUR TO YOU.

4. FOR PRETORIA: APPRECIATE ANY POINTS YOU THINK  
SHOULD BE EMPHASIZED IN TIME FOR THE SECRETARY'S  
CONSIDERATION PRIOR TO HIS TELEPHONE CALL, PRESENTLY  
SCHEDULED AT 9:30 A.M., JULY 25, WASHINGTON TIME.  
YOUNG

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## Message Attributes

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**TAGS:** PORG, PDEV, SF, WA, UNSC, (VANCE, CYRUS R), (BOTH, PIK)  
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